S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
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427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there: it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof: only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than 10% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/384 cont./

this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

/388/

369 433 [162] The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

[487] Its commercial activity is due to its position at the crossroads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

[498] [464] It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

[497] [634] Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large [166] [241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 463 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/389 cont./

162 463 11.6%	in the primary sector,	
	of whom: agriculturalists	10.9%
44.5%	in the secondary sector,	
	of whom: unskilled workers	0.7%
	skilled workers in construction	10%
	skilled modern workers	14.6%
	staffs and supervisors	1.1%
41.9%	in the tertiary sector,	
	of whom: domestics	2.7%
	commerce, transport and repair	11.4%
	sweepers, orderlies, porters	1.6%
	unskilled office employees	3.3%
	skilled office employees	1.8%
	highly skilled office employees and administrative staffs	1.1%
	public force	16.4% (1)

[113]

1. This information is taken from the publication drawn up by the Service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A. O. F., "Commune mixte de Thiès.

/389 cont./

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[113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/," Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

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By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

114

Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

/392 cont./

125 From the standpoint of occupational distribution:
●463 5 cultivators,
*511 8 laborers (one specialist),
3 orderlies,
3 "unskilled" office employees,
2 "skilled office employees,
1 "highly skilled" office employee,
6 "unskilled" workers,
4 "skilled" workers,
2 workers having functions of authority,
1 police sergeant,
4 artisans,
1 truck-gardener,
1 private accountant,
1 teacher,
1 African doctor.

125 /393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):
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*511

1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof,
4 Bambara,
3 Sarakolé,
3 Peul,
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/,
2 Sérère /Serer/,
2 Moors.

/394 cont./
*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/
/Table I appears here./

*511 494 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104 463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.
1 [see cat. 116 pp 13+14 - ANALYST]

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though few picked up their bags and left 'in disgust at the new order of things'. Of course in certain uninformed quarters there was the inevitable short-lived panic about what independence would mean for the French community, and even today, despite reassurances from the Government, certain sectors remain oversensitive to each move or speech made by a Minister. For many Frenchmen their stay in Senegal is not longer than five years, and as a result there is a higher proportion of bachelors than one would normally expect in a community that had intentions of making the country its permanent home. This proportion is largely accounted for by the presence of a French army base.

On the other hand the Dakar European population has none of the temporary character of the English communities in West Africa. Far from living in reservations outside the city, as is still the case with the European population of Lagos, they have moved into the centre of the town and made it a small corner of Europe, and the more the French population has increased the more it has tended to create a metropolitan life for itself in Africa. The range of European-style shops, the number of restaurants, night-clubs, and women's hairdressers shows that although the Dakar Frenchman may have no intention of settling in the city for good, he is determined to live his life in the maximum comfort during his stay. There is relatively little of the attitude of living for the next leave.

Another distinguishing feature of the European community in Senegal is that not only is it not a true settler community but also its economic interests, whilst vast, have not involved any important alienation of land and until very recently have not brought it into conflict with African economic interests. Dakar can in no way be considered a small Algiers. The majority of Europeans, whose per capita income is about £600 a year, are employed by the Administration or commercial and industrial undertakings in executive posts or in technical and clerical positions

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for which no trained African staff is available. There is a wide range of professional occupations, but private enterprise by individuals is largely restricted to higher-class shopkeeping and the running of bars and restaurants. Most of the export and import trade is still in the hands of the large commercial houses controlled from France as distinct from individual Frenchmen in Dakar.

Relations between the African and European communities have been remarkably good. There have been no really significant racial conflicts in Dakar since the war. But relations are *negatively* good. That is to say that there is almost no contact between the two groups outside work. The French in Dakar, despite the official assimilationist policy of the mother country, have shown little inclination to extend it on a personal plane during their sojourn in Dakar. On the other hand when they were officially representatives of the colonial Power they rarely attempted to enforce discrimination against Africans. Apart from the time of the unfortunate Vichy episode there has never been any open discrimination in Dakar. Africans always had legal access to all places the French had, though inevitably there were a number of private associations such as the *Amicales des Provinces Françaises* which excluded Africans by definition though never by statute. A visitor might be tempted to think that the absence of Africans from the French-style cafés in the main streets of Dakar indicated some subtle form of discrimination, but in fact any African entering would be served, and the sparseness of African clientele is determined by economic and social reasons. Drinks are enormously expensive in such bistros, and few Muslims, who form the majority of the population in Dakar, care to be seen drinking in public. Nevertheless it is true that proprietors of certain bars do their best to maintain a white clientele.

There is a certain residential separation, once more largely determined by economics. The expensive European

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flats and villas are usually beyond the range of the African purse though the difference is being eliminated by the accession of Senegalese, immediately prior to and in particular since independence, to high administrative posts and today there is no real residential separation. Many Europeans live in housing estates built primarily for Africans and not a few live in the Medina or main African quarter. Some trade unions are divided on racial lines between Africans and Europeans, largely because the European workers are skilled technicians and there are even to this day few Africans trained in most of the industrial work done by Europeans.

Nevertheless there are certain cases of bitterness between Africans and Europeans over the question of equal pay for equal work. Though the basic principle is that both groups should be paid the same rate for the same kind of work, the European in many cases gets an expatriation addition of up to two-fifths of his basic salary. This is not true of all classes of work. For instance shop girls in Printania, a local version of Woolworth's, earn the same pay whether white or black though of course the European staff are recruited locally from wives and daughters of Frenchmen working in Dakar. It is surely a healthy sign that Europeans and Africans can work together on equal terms and that Europeans can occupy what in Europe would be considered very humble positions.

One does not detect amongst the French in Senegal any very strong feeling for or against the African. Where any form of racism does manifest itself it is mainly at the level of the artisan worker or the *petit blanc*, a term generally used to describe the poorer white community of small shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics and skilled workers. When the Senegalese are confronted by outbursts of racism from members of this group they are usually inclined to return the abuse in kind, for the Senegalese are naturally an immensely proud people and have very little feeling of racial inferiority. Close contact with a French community

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563 [645] formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] [571] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of [873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be [572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 369 •463 472 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans. But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

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Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

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463 [563] has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, [571] and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. [647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay have always been considerably higher than in commerce [465] and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 [472] Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Toucouleur, [736] has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

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live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.'

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital.

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce.

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in

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463 563 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory [651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given [162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of [471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor [874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter. [208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

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immense impact of the town. They live in small villages made up of relations and fellow villagers. They even club together, subscribing to a common fund to receive their fellows from the Fleuve, and as far as work is concerned they virtually monopolise certain jobs such as bootboys, waiters, and newspaper sellers. This maintenance of tribal cohesion is a difficult task in this city of French creation, where a new community of Dakarois is rapidly coming into existence.

An important factor in the breakdown of tribal ties has been the creation of political parties and the creation of a new political élite that thinks in national terms. Experience in Africa has shown, however, that this can work two ways, for many political parties are in effect organisations intended to defend ethnic interests. Senegalese politics have on the whole been remarkably free from tribalism, though Senghor did in fact achieve much of his success in the early days of the *B.D.S.* though the emphasis he laid on ethnic considerations in the organisations of his party, and certainly there have existed specifically regional and ethnic parties like *Le Mouvement Démocratique Casamançais* and the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.* But, as Kenneth Robinson pointed out in his study of Senegalese politics in *Five Elections in Africa*, these ethnic and regional aspects were compensated for by the federal aspect of the major party, *Le Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais.* In 1954, in fact, all ethnic and regional sub-sections of the *B.D.S.* were abolished and individual membership was insisted on. But though this led to the breaking-away of certain elements in the Casamance, it would be fair to say that the party has been much less dominated by those regional differences that normally influence political parties in West Africa. Nevertheless, as Robinson found in the 1957 election, there were a number of constituencies where ethnic rivalries were more important than political issues. At Linguère, a single member constituency, the population was divided between Fula and Wolof in the proportion of three to two. When the sitting member, a Fula, was

[i.e., The Moors and Toucouleurs in Dakar--Analyst]

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the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

5; Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free-man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1953.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

equipment of Senegal in relation to the existing employment market. These facts must, however, be considered from another angle. The real problems are those of the true integration of education into a developing social environment, its adaptation to various local situations, and the adjustments which must be made in the Senegalese people's conception of education. These problems look, of course, more acute in the big towns, particularly in the former 'centres of assimilation',[1] which have often reached a relatively high school rate (sometimes more than 50 per cent); in many rural districts the critical phase is still a long way off. Recent changes in the position are marked by another important feature to which I shall revert at greater length: the difference in the distribution of the school population classified according to the various kinds of education. The past 10 years have been marked by the development of secondary and technical education, and the introduction of local higher education. At the beginning of 1955, pupils and students were distributed approximately as follows among the different types of education: 87 per cent in primary schools, 9 per cent in secondary schools, 2 per cent in vocational training schools, 2 per cent in higher education and its various equivalents.[2] At the same time education in French West Africa ceased to be an almost isolated system providing degrees and diplomas which were not recognized in metropolitan France and qualified their holders only for subordinate positions in most occupations.[3] The intellectual elite is becoming steadily more diversified. Its ideals are being noticeably modified; some of its prestige values are being revised; the masses are beginning to change their idea of what they mean by the elite. This is a transitional stage, with its own special tensions.

At this stage in the development of education—the outstanding fact in which is that, particularly in the urban primary schools, the demand exceeds the supply[4]—the signs are already fairly evident of a trend towards less mobility in the social scale. The prospects of reaching the ranks conferring most prestige differ in the towns and the rural zones, for the reasons already indicated. They are also tending to be less evenly distributed among the various sections of the urban population as the latter becomes more diversified. It is not, however, a case of the urban population breaking up into closed or nearly closed groups; none of the discernible social categories are of this character, nor can they be in any way likened to social classes.[5] In particular, relations based on kinship in the widest sense of the term continue to play a fundamental role, and maintain in be[illegible]ose ties among all the individuals composing the family group. Severance of these relations occurs only in extreme cases. Nevertheless, a trend towards the crystallization of social categories does appear, through the mere accumulation of circumstances.[6] The problem has been studied in a recent work the principal points of which I will venture to recall.[7] A survey of the urban district of Dakar—confirmed by later research in other cities—showed certain significant differences in the social origins of

1. The 'four communes' mentioned above.
2. Including young people studying in France.
3. Even in teaching, medicine, etc.
4. In Dakar it became necessary to establish part-time classes to meet an ever-rapid increase in demand.
5. Cf. P. Mercier, 'Aspects de la Stratification Sociale dans l'Ouest Africain' (Aspects of social stratification in West Africa), *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XVII, 1954.
6. Studied, e.g. by G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Sociology of the coloured populations of Brazzaville), Paris, 1955.
7. Cf. P. Mercier, op. cit.

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

the individuals questioned; and these differences are likely to become sharper—45 per cent were farmers' sons, but considerable variations appeared according to the socio-vocational category. The proportion of unskilled workers was 80 per cent; it was only 42 per cent for skilled workers and craftsmen; still lower (33 per cent) for civil servants and subordinate office employees (the widest category of the 'administrative bourgeoisie' characteristic of the colonial period), 28 per cent for senior clerks and civil servants;[1] for members of the liberal professions in the widest sense[2] it was no more than 21 per cent. These last three categories taken as a whole represent the 'intellectual professions', according to the meaning still ascribed by the great majority of Senegalese to that phrase. Of those who had a father already in one of these professions, three-quarters were engaged in the same work. The same process of stabilization can, however, be observed, though less clearly, among specialized workers; of those whose father was a worker, nearly two-thirds still belonged to the same class; most of the others had been absorbed into the 'administrative bourgeoisie'. These, moreover, are the two chief categories,[3] from which there has emerged a new type of elite which really began to grow in size only after the last war.

Important changes in outlook, not only in Senegal, but in the whole of French West Africa, have accompanied this most recent historical phase. From the elite of the strictly colonial type as defined above there has begun to emerge—and even to take on separate existence—a new intellectual elite, still a relatively small group.[4] This elite, which might be termed that of the liberal professions—this time in the strict sense of the phrase—having a distinctly higher level of education and more definite professional competence, is able to lay claim to a quantity of posts until now almost exclusively held by Europeans. The category was not completely non-existent during the pre-war period; it developed earlier in Senegal than in the other French West African territories as a result of Senegal's possession of an embryonic system of secondary education.[5] Being numerically weak, this elite had an opportunity of associating, to a certain extent, with the European population, a fact which manifestly lessened its prospects of playing an active role and assuming the leadership of the African masses. Furthermore, it continued to follow the policy of assimilation and was the only element in the 'colonial elite' which succeeded in achieving it. It could find only a limited field of action in the political life of the 'four communes'. It consisted mainly of lawyers, a few members of the teaching profession and doctors and even a few administrators. It doubtless set an example for a colonial elite of a far inferior grade from which it was not entirely cut off; it showed them the road to be taken by the seeker after modern knowledge. Prestige of the kind hitherto enjoyed only by Europeans was transferred to them and was thus seen to be no longer out of reach and so engendered ideas of power—a share, even if limited, of political and administrative powers—and wealth, or material security, at the lowest. This role continued to develop after the war, though with a rather abrupt change of direction.

1. I.e. those holding posts of responsibility, regardless of their educational level.
2. Medical, teaching, auxiliaries, etc.
3. The first, especially.
4. Only a few hundred individuals, including members of the 'colonial elite' who were belatedly given fresh opportunities for completing their studies and reaching a higher status.
5. Lycées at Saint-Louis, later at Dakar.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
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The Wollof women of Dakar are some of the most elegant in Africa. The latest styles in their dresses, derived from the Empire line, are worn here by three mannequins of Maison Pierre Grosse. Their elegance is reflected even in the working clothes of a young Wollof mother

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[463]
[4 48 (A)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

'Oh yes, our sister company in Abidjan has sent a young African to train in a large brewery in France.'

'What is your labour like?'

'Not so good. They don't seem to have much interest in their work.'

I remembered my discussion with Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis, who told me that though he was a Socialist, he believed that at the present time capitalism had an essential role in the country. 'If we are to improve the conditions of the proletariat capitalism is a necessity, but this improvement cannot be speeded up except to the extent that the profit from capital is used towards the satisfying of the indispensable needs of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the worker feels that he is complementary to the capitalist—it is up to the capitalist to make him understand this.'

To me this seems one of the most important factors in the industrialization of West Africa. The African from the tribal backgroumd is essentially an individual with a distinct position in his tribal group or village. Though he appreciates the money he earns in industry, psychologically he does not like being treated as a mere cog in a machine, losing his identity. If he could be given some indication that he is as indispensable to the firm as the manager, he would work hard. As Mr. C. O. Van der Plas, the United Nations Official in the Gambia, once observed: 'It is curious that the African running his own little enterprise works literally like a black, and takes on enormous responsibilities.' Yet if he is taken on as a cog in a vast machine, he becomes slack and Europeans call him the most inefficient and expensive labour in the world. It seems to me that a lot depends on the relations between the worker and the managerial staff.

Two years before I had visited a large shoe factory in neighbouring Rufisque with Mr. David Pearson, the British Consul responsible for liaison between British and French territories in West Africa. The factory was sited on the outskirts of the town opposite a huge cement works which belched forth pastel smoke at an angry sky. We entered a courtyard where hides of every colour were lying in the sun to dry. A Czech employee of the firm, which has its origins in Czechoslovakia, met us and led us into a gloomy shed where flabby hides, a hideous grey green in

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 295 982 colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

S 295 [463] We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes.

'These we also produce in great quantities.'

S W [291] He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

S [294] [565] As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

their homosexuality, is the character of the Jollof women. They are Africa's most beautiful women: they must also be the most demanding. Few people have much good to say for these elegant *femmes fatales*. They are lazy, selfish and fickle. They dislike housework and many of them stick with their husbands only as long as they are prepared to pay out vast sums for their clothes and jewellery. Since the elegant woman (and every Jollof girl aspires to be that) costs about £100 a year to keep in clothes and jewellery, it is little wonder that Jollof men are seeking wives from other tribes, where competence within the house rather than elegance is the standard by which a woman is judged.

Such is Jollof preoccupation with fashion that there is a fashion house in Dakar with Jollof mannequins. These women are chosen not only for their beauty but for their position in society. For if they come from a good family they are sure to be noticed by other Jollof women in the streets, and immediately the clothes they are wearing will be remarked on, and to Pierre Grosse's shop the fashion-crazy Jollofs will rush.

The Jollof dress originates from St. Louis, when the French re-occupied it after the Napoleonic wars. At that time fashionable ladies were wearing the Empire style with its high waistline and long, flowing dresses. Since then the Jollofs have made this style their national dress. They have the same high waistline, the long dresses, sometimes modified by a bodice, and great candy-floss turbans. To show off their magnificent shoulders they have enlarged the neckline, and puffed up the sleeves, stiffened with starch, to half-moon shapes that stand out crisply from the body. The sleeve is usually dropped off one shoulder to reveal the full beauty of its owner.

Over the dress a great docket or cloak of muslin, tulle or organdie is thrown, usually in a colour contrasting with the dress. Materials are chosen with great care. One has only to see these women in Pierre Grosse's handling great lengths of cloth with expert and tender attention to know that no cheap cotton print can be palmed off on the most discriminating buyers on the West African market.

The Jollof's ensemble is not complete without wig, jewellery and make-up. Wigs are of several designs. The most typical, though not the most frequently seen, are two stiff plaits of horse-

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 665 political situation remained aloof from party activity, unless they joined the marginal parties. This was a prime discovery from general investigations at Dakar and St. Louis. Comparison of the principal socio-occupational categories that had been used as a basis for classifying the population under study provided informative data for this topic. The following categories showed a percentage of political party membership [463] higher than that of the average of respondents: farmers and fishermen; unskilled laborers and domestic workers; merchants. By contrast, the percentage of membership was lower among semi-skilled workers, higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, and professional people. It is significant that trained workers and the intellectual elements most often kept apart from the existing political system. Such was the situation at Dakar. That at St. Louis was little different, or so it appeared from an incomplete analysis of an inquiry carried out among a sampling of the population in the island wards.

By contrast, the inquiry carried out at Thiès, whose traits are quite unlike those of the "old cities," provided very different results. For all the men, the percentage of membership was smaller than that at Dakar—40 per cent.[43] The following categories were below that fig- [463] ure: farmers, merchants, skilled workers, lower-ranking office-workers, and government employees. On the other hand, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, were higher.[44] Here the greatest degree of party membership corresponded to the most active categories; Thiès does not have the political traditions of the old cities, and the formalization found in them was much less

[P. 148]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.

[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.

[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.

[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[P. 14C]

* [i.e an exhibition of ~~"lanterns"~~ at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See category 116, P. 14A -- Analyst]

[5/8] [426] [1961] [5e3] 6965

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567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
422 menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
623 of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

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564 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
463 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

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582 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
565 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
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567 it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

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565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

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III. Work. Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 B27 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on P. 28--Analyst]

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10: Thoré--27 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
/173/
Pikine
Wolof MS 30
Serer FP 38
Fulani MS 11
Peul

Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.[1]

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	Q	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	D			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	Q		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	D					33.3	66.7	100
T	Q	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	D				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	Q			20	60	10	10	100
	D				50		50	100
M	Q			64.2	35.8			100
	D							
B	Q				71.4		28.6	100
	D					20	80	100
O	Q		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	D					64.7	33.3	100
	Q	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

1 [For explanation of Table 11, see category 116, p. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 the development of agricultural work; there has been none
463 of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of
[427] neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic
463 nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners
[427] of their dwellings or will become such after they have made
[426] their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For
[465] the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and
571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/177 cont./

464 484 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor force 25.3%

162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Pikine 37%

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

464 484 494 484 [493] 484 [369] [361]

462 463 162 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word about female work. The great majority of the women do not have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

S /177 cont./
462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5
Silent partners of weavers 2.2
Dyers 3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls 15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses 4.5
Laborer 0.8
Others 68.8
S Total 100

305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S 462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
SR of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation,
S that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce
S W SR at Kermel or at Sandaga.

462 On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
162 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

/431/

121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

/432/

2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

[294] [386] 3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking, lingerie, clothing 609

preparation, dyeing..... 142

/432 cont./

The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

-- direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page./

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which [161]
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu-
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied [463]
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech-
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
[517] large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
[312] Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
[342] draw water at the common well, while the children play in the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal, all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
[351] ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
[563] is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais" (Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
[363] according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
[275] the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
[525] himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
[579] shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls between drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara, which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
[342] huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
[363] the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
[373] noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
[463] a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
[252] weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
[517] place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
[524] work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[317] [464] [162]

1 [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

S 498 /86 cont./ manufacturing cost would be high if they were smelted in Senegal, are bought on the outside.

S 498 Originally the repair work, the machining of locomotive parts or of rolling stock, necessitated only the presence of good mechanics. But putting into service more powerful engines that no longer run on charcoal but on fuel oil requires /87/ precise inspection and minute repairs made by experienced specialists. Most of them are still Europeans, but already some Africans have the technical training required for this delicate work.

S [162] The enterprise, however, has only a small percentage of Whites: out of 2,500 railway workers there were only 140 Europeans in 1953. And most of them worked in the offices (one European to eight natives); in the workshops this proportion reached only one to 40. While most of the metropolitan specialists are taken from the staffs of the S.N.C.F., the African specialists are recruited from among the students S [874] coming from the technical schools of Terrasson-de-Fougères in Bamako or William-Ponty in Dakar and from among the former mechanics of the arsenals of the national marine. They constitute the supervisory staffs in the different shops.

The ordinary workers, founders, hammermen, carpenters ..., have generally been trained in the very workshops of the Dakar-Niger where they work for a number of years. Finally, the non-specialized work is done by newcomers from the bush.

S 498 563 W 498 162 463 An investigation carried out in 1952 on a quarter of the total number (834) enables one to learn the ethnic composition of all the workshops. One can note a preeminence of the number of Wolof (301); the Peul and Toucouleur /Tukolor/ number 189; the Bambara come third with 115 individuals. It is necessary to add 39 Sarakolé, 40 Khassonké /Kassonke/, and 79 workers belonging to different groups. This list gives an idea of the important mingling of individuals that make up this industrial center. One observes, nevertheless, that the

/105 cont./

465 357 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid between 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

● 463 465 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As [241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 166 167 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut cultivation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A 244 466 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

[465] At the time of his departure, the navétane must reimburse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/122 cont./

317 Current production varies from 20,000 to 30,000 tons, which
433 are consumed in the region and exported to Senegal and the
[651] Sudan. This Société is hampered in its development by the taxes on salt and by transportation costs which particularly burden this product.

From time immemorial the natives have been exploiting the salt marshes at Tickat, upstream from Kaolack, and on the arms of the Saloum to the west of Fatick. They produce only what is needed for their consumption. /123/
[651] During the time of the Bours, this exploitation was the occasion for a fee in kind for the benefit of the sovereign.

433 Native industrie. In addition to the native salt marshes,
258 we might also mention the fish-drying industry. The many lagoons, marigots, and watercourses of the region contain an abundance of excellent ocean fish (polynemids, pike, skate, sole, etc.). The Niominka race, accustomed to fishing, draw a remunerative advantage from it. The drying of fish is practiced at Fatick, Foundiougne, and in Bas-Saloum. One can estimate the quantity of dried fish at close to 500
[438] tons per year. The consumption is purely local, and the markets of the circle and of neighboring circles are the usual selling places.

433 The only other local industries are those of the potters,
463 basket makers, and weavers. Some native blacksmiths set
[326] up shop in the villages at the time of cultivation; they are, moreover, of the Ouoloff or Moorish race.

433 European industries. There is only one European in-
258 dustry in the circle. An oil factory for the processing of
[648] groundnuts has been set up at Kaolack by Engineer Gaudart. Today this factory belongs to the Société des Huileries et Rizeries Ouest-Africaines /West African Oil Refinery and Rice Company/. Its equipment is modern. Its production is large; it
[439] sells it in the colony, in France, and in the nearby British colonies.

/130 cont./

312 Thus, in the past 15 years, many wells have been dug
653 in Sine-Saloum.

In 1928, 600 reinforced concrete wells and about 400 native wells were counted in the circle. About 10 or 15 wells are completed each year, and as many are mended, repaired, or put in good order. The expenditures are sometimes great, considering that a reinforced concrete well 70 meters deep comes close to 20,000 francs at the present time. There is
• [463] one or two well-digging experts per canton, who make up their own teams. We thus have there about 30 natives perfectly informed about this work. Sine-Saloum has loaned
[648] head well-diggers to the neighboring colonies, especially to Mauritania. The governments there have been very satisfied.

Should the policy of the wells be continued? It /Pl. III appears here/ /131/ has produced results. It has permitted going to what is most pressing. In the villages in the bush, it is the wells that for a long time yet will supply the inhabitant and the herds. In the cities there is the problem of bringing in water. Dakar has been considering this since 1903. Wells have been drilled everywhere in the peninsula of Cape Verde. Potable water has been found in the subsoil, but, until very recently, the quantity was barely sufficient for the needs of the city and the port. Today, the catchment centers at Point B give an abundance of water. It was after the mission of Dr. Moineau that drilling points in the vicinity of large agglomerations, such as Dakar, Thiès, Rufisque, Diourbel, and Kaolack, were proposed by this water-diviner.

For Kaolack, not one attempt has been made by the government of Senegal to verify the hypotheses of Dr. Moineau.

But it has called upon a mining engineer, M. Boyer, to undertake surveys to search it for subterranean waters that could be collected.

This engineer began his investigations at Gossas in Sine-Saloum. They were crowned with success in 1927, with water caught at a depth of 195 meters gushing from the soil; the bringing in of water has begun; the problem appears solved for this trade center.

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10: Thoré--27 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 39
/173/ Pikine
wolof MS 30
Serer FM 38
Fulani MS 11
Peul

Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.[7]

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	O	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	D			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	O		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	D					33.3	66.7	100
T	O	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	D				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	O			20	60	10	10	100
	D				50		50	100
M	O			64.2	35.8			100
	D							
B	O				71.4		28.6	100
	D					20	80	100
O	O		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	D					64.7	33.3	100
	O	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

7 [For explanation of Table 11 see category 116, p. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/175 cont./

571 of a favored sector of the population with privileged living and working conditions, which is composed largely of officials, but which it is nevertheless difficult, in the present state of research, to characterize as bourgeoisie, or as a class. With what sort of social layer are we dealing? The study of the educational level and schooling will show us this.

•464 The investigation does not bear specifically on unemployment; nevertheless, it is impossible to speak of Pikine without mentioning the importance of this problem. That unemployment is considerable may already be deduced from the fact that most of the workers do not have any occupational training which would permit them to find employment. Those who were between 18 and 65 years of age and who were without steady work at the time of the investigation have been regarded as unemployed. This category therefore includes not only those who were unemployed all the time, but also those who did "odd jobs," finding a little work to do here and there to help out a friend, a neighbor, or a relative.

In the first stratum we have listed 79 unemployed, and four in the second, which leads to a total of 1,580 unemployed out of an economically active male population of 5,530, or a rate of unemployment of 29.3%. For the family heads this rate is not quite as high: 26.3%. Here is how it is distributed according to ethnic groups, age classes, and the educational level. /Table 12 appears here./

/176/ Unemployment is naturally much less high among the literate, all of whom have some kind of occupational qualification, than among the illiterate. The former, moreover, are for the most part young people. The proportion of unemployed is at a minimum in the 30-year class. The case of those over 50 years old is more serious, since it is in general a matter of people whose age, lack of occupational qualifications, and often the late date of their immigration gravely jeopardize their chance of finding employment.

Let us note in conclusion that the rate of unemployment of the Toucouleur is the lowest, although their age at immigration is higher, and that their average competence does not exceed that of the other ethnic groups. This fact, as the investigations of the Toucouleur migration by the MISOES

10: Thoré--30 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table 12

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
% of unemployed	28.9	36.4	23.7	40	42.9	28.6	25	26.3
% of unemployed	literate 16					illiterate 29.2		
% of unemployed	20 to 30 years old 25.8		30 to 50 years old 22.7		50 and over 33.6		Average 26.3	

/176 cont./

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 484 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here./

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

464 484 162 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor force 25.3%

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Pikine 37%

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Dakar 16%

Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word about female work. The great majority of the women do not have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

17: Mercier--18 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/20 cont./
state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1).

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1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation.

[464]

Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted.

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II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem.

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17: Mercier--28 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/26 cont./
There are many who, in the present unemployment crisis, can only maintain themselves in town thanks to the aid of their relatives. This results in a spontaneous form of insurance against unemployment (2).

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[464]

2. Which has become more and more important in Dakar in the last two years. Without speaking of the seasonal immigrants who find no work, the number of recorded unemployed amounts to more than 2,000.

2. The figures expressing the extent of family groups do not give, in a direct fashion, indications of the importance of this "familial parasitism." The fact of finding work, when it is a matter /27/ of a close relative, does not signify in any way that the group which has formed is going to split up: the tendency toward the traditional familial regrouping is not exercised solely in terms of extreme forms of mutual aid. The other data in figures that we gathered permit in themselves only a first approach to the problem (1). These

[434]

1. In fact, even though the idea of salaried person is clear, that of the person enjoying a non-salaried income is very broad; it does not assume that this income is able to assure completely the subsistence of this person (petty trade, piece work, etc.); this person may, since he is attached to a kinship group larger than the restricted family, benefit from partial aid. The investigation conducted at Thiès on

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I. F. A. N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[317] [464] [162]

[1] [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

/86 cont./

498
[317]
[464]
[162]

hardly affect its economy because of the limited number of its workers (200 to 300) and above all the distance from the urban center.

concession of the Dakar-Niger located a short distance from the city would actually form the most important industrial [162] center of French West Africa in terms of the number of its operatives (around 2,500 in 1952). It groups within its enclosure a series of the most diverse workshops: woodworking shop, sawmill, assembly shops for railroad cars, tinsmith shop, and even a foundry. Putting new Diesel tractors into service has brought about the recent creation of new shops where manifold improved machines operate. Power is taken [377] from a high tension line of 30,000 volts coming from Dakar. The enterprise annually consumes 1,700,000 kilowatt-hours, that is to say, more than the total consumption of the city itself. The much smaller consumption of coke and of fuel oil used in the furnace and cupolas of the foundries should be added here.

The workshops of the Dakar-Niger present themselves in the form of an industry with vertical integration of an incomplete type. The distance from the mother country, the expenses and above all the slowness of shipments (principally during the last World War) have brought about the installation of an industrial complex that makes it possible to satisfy the greater part of the demands of the work required for the smooth functioning of the service. All the woodworking is carried out in the sawmill-carpentry section; the cars are assembled from imported chassis, wheels, and bogies. Most of the parts of the locomotives can be smelted in Thiès, except when it is a matter of special alloys. Certain elements demanding a machine-finishing precision of 1/100 of a millimeter for Diesel tractors have already been manufactured by the enterprise. Only the parts requiring very special techniques or machines for their manufacture, or whose

/87 cont./

S 498 563 W 498 162 463 workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433 Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

/88/

3. The Public sector.

S 712 433 Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S 647 464 The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162 population is made up of young people less than 14 years of
[redacted] the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464 those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and para-
[574 sites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous
168 swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground- 311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 427 [464] [167] [113] The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver- [465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/9 cont./

244 407 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and [648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have [167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary [433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the 244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from 166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the •464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguiné are laborers [427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 433 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are characterized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the
[439] country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

●[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 563 166 162 464 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resident originally from the same village or merely from the same region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average much higher among the first than among the second, one finds in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 563 [361] This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the normal category of West African cities, where a white city and a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high [465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Rosa. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind.

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire.

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction.

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

244 [933] sixth crop of Africa, and 43 per cent. of the total continental production comes from Senegal. The two main groups cultivated are the 'runner' and the 'erect'. The Rufisque and Cayor varieties, both runners, are those grown generally here and also in British West Africa. The method of cultivation is described in Volume I, p. 321.

[939] Ground-nuts were originally grown as a staple native crop, but the industrial demand for vegetable oils, coupled with the development of transport facilities, opened up a world market for them. Extra

[167] [464] labour for the harvest is provided annually by seasonal immigration from French Sudan, French Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and the Gambia. In 1938 the number of outside workers was 69,757. Of these, 56,743 went to the Kaolack area, between 1,000 and 3,500 to Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Kolda, Tambacounda, and Diourbel, and the remainder to Thiès and Linguéré.

[258] There are numerous shelling factories. Early in 1939 new ones were opened at Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and Koungheul.

In 1938 nearly 2,000,000 acres were under cultivation and the

[654] experimental station at Bambey distributed 5,414 tons of selected seed. In 1939 7,382 tons of seed were sent out, with a corresponding increase in acreage.

[648] [388] During the British blockade of French West Africa after the fall of France in 1940, ground-nuts were converted into fuel oil. If this practice has been proved worth continuing after the war, cultivation may be greatly extended.

248 *Sisal.* Sisal originated in Mexico, being named after the port of Sisal in Yucatan province, and it was introduced into Senegal at the end of the nineteenth century. The species grown are *Agave rigida sisalana*, *A. rigida elongata*, and *A. rigida zapupe*. The rigid leaves containing the fibre are about 4 feet long and are harvested biennially from the fourth to the eighth or tenth year. When a plant has finished producing it shoots up a tall flower stem, with bulbils or buds on the end, and then withers.

283 288 The preparation of stem and leaf fibres is lengthy. First the fleshy tissue encasing the fibre is scraped away, and then the fibre is washed, hung out to dry, and brushed. It is now ready for grading. Next it is combed into a continuous sliver of untwisted rope. The final process is the drawing and twisting of the sliver to a uniform thinness for spinning into a rope that is particularly resistant to sea-water. The

248 largest plantation is in French Sudan, and stretches for 12 miles along the bank of the Senegal near Kayes. Other smaller ones are in Tambacounda and on the Cape Verde peninsula. There is oppor-

/104 cont./

Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all, especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.

/111 cont./

491 season by truckage, the development of which has grown in
[494] considerable proportions since 1920.

The network of roads is on the whole excellent. Every winter, it is subject to deteriorations; the latter are repaired as soon as the dry season arrives. Thousands of workers making
● [464] their annual contribution are employed there under the supervision of native chiefs and under the direction of the European administrative authorities. Some artificial works, embankments, bridges, culverts, gutters, and channels have been constructed in the swampy places or to cross spots of water.

363 In the communes, the roads are gradually being paved with paving stones as the urban streets develop. In Kaolack six kilometers of streets have been paved with stones in the past five years.

505 Inland navigation. As we have already seen, the Saloum is the major channel of inland navigation. Steamers enter it by the maritime passage of Sangomar. In the channel, 120 kilometers long, up to Kaolack, there are some bends or
[502] passages that are quite difficult to negotiate. A pilot is necessary. All of the boats have one, whom they take on at Dakar or Rufisque. The Sine is traveled in the same fashion up to Niamnioroh.

[501] There are countless marigots which are accessible to cutters, small launches, barges, or dugouts. There are several thousand kilometers /112/ of waterways which connect villages, centers of cultivation, and fishing agglomerations.

In the Bas-Saloum in particular, commercial traffic is handled by cutters or by dugouts.

Saboya, on the marigot Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, is accessible to ocean-going vessels. Each year boats come to seek the stock of groundnuts produced by this region.

Here are some comparative figures on navigation for the three ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Saboya.